

SOCIAL ACTION

OCTOBER 15, 1945

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Ten Key Questions and Answers

1. Can We Keep the Peace?
2. What Common Interests and Traditions Do America and Russia Share?
3. On What Issues Do United States and Soviet Russia Differ?
4. How Can the Areas of Common Interest Be Expanded?
5. How Do US and USSR Line Up in Europe and Asia?
6. Is USSR Likely to Change Basic Policy?
7. Will US Back Up Its Foreign Policy with a Strong Domestic Policy?
8. How Can Enduring World Peace Be Built?
9. How Can Both Countries Promote Civilization and Peace?
10. What Can I Do?

SOCIAL ACTION Magazine

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Front cover and cartoons by Joy Hume Falk

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SOCIAL ACTION, VOL. XI. NUMBER 8, OCTOBER 15, 1945

Published monthly except July and August by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. John C. Bennett, Chairman, Ray Gibbons, Director.

Subscription \$1.00 per year; Canada, \$1.20 per year. Single copies, 15c. each; 2 to 9 copies, 12c. each; 10 to 49 copies, 10c. each; 50 or more copies, 8c. each. Re-entered as second-class matter January 30, 1939, at the Post Office at New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

At the Crossroads

Mankind stands at the crossroads—one road leading to self-annihilation, the other to super-abundance. Atomic power will take us down either road. Reliable scientists estimate that in a single day atomic bombs could destroy half the population of the British Isles. That is, if mankind chooses the road of its own death march. Along the other road, a few ounces of ore disintegrated by atomic fission can keep the blackout lifted over the same British Isles today and tomorrow.

Two nations stand at the same crossroads. For "there are now only two nations—America and Russia—of really predominant power," as John Fischer wrote recently in *Harper's Magazine*. "They alone," he continued, "possess the resources to wage war on a global scale. If there is another world war, it must be between them. If the conflicts arising between these two can be settled peacefully, there cannot be a truly major war."

American-Russian relations are therefore the key problem in resolving mankind's most vital issue today—preparation for war that can only end in human devastation or building for permanent peace that can usher in a new age for all humanity. That is one reason why American-Russian relations are rated by most Americans as controversial subject Number 1.

With this issue *Social Action* plunges into the controversy. Our aims are three-fold: (1) to answer crucial questions arising in discussions of American-Russian relations, (2) to present authoritative opinion on issues for which eminent Americans have found good, workable answers, and (3) to give pertinent background information.

In a sense this issue of *Social Action* is a poll of American opinion on Russia, taken not in its quantitative but in its qualitative aspect. For here we have selected ten key questions about American-Russian relations today, and have summoned to answer them a panel of expert opinion compiled from the public statements of outstanding Americans. Some questions resolve themselves into almost flat yes and no answers. Others are becoming more and more complicated as events move us rapidly into the period of peace.

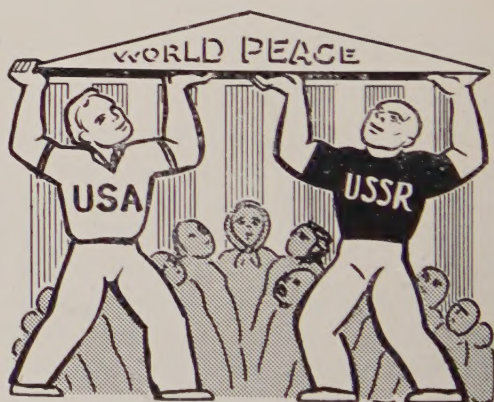
RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Ten Key Questions and Answers on How the Two Countries Can Build for Peace

By ANDREW J. STEIGER*

1. Can We Keep the Peace?

The USA and the USSR have the power to enforce the peace. The United States is the most powerful industrial nation on earth today. Her arsenals supplied decisive weapons of victory in the air and sea war against the Axis. The Soviet



Union is rapidly becoming the world's second most powerful industrial nation. Her arsenals supplied decisive weapons of victory in the land war against Nazi Germany in Europe and

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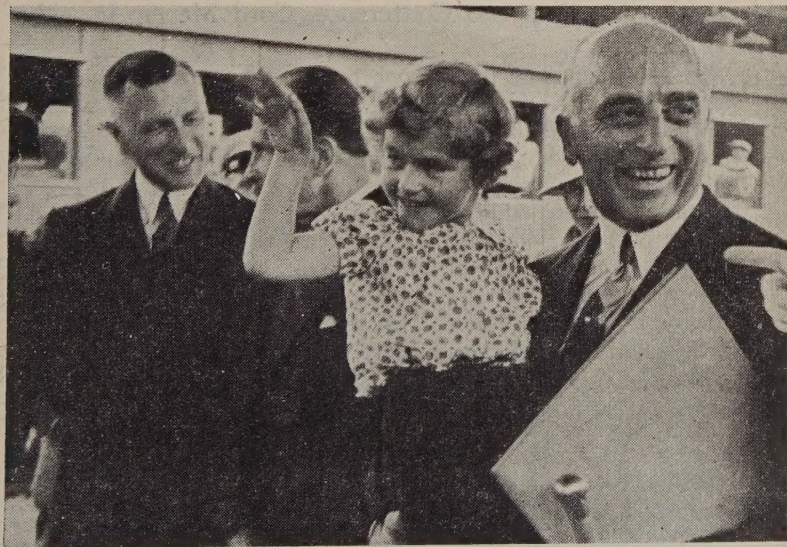
After serving in an Engineer Corps with the AEF in France in the first World War, Mr. Steiger studied at the University of Chicago, and at Union Theological Seminary. He received an M.A. degree in social psychology from Columbia University.

While on a tour of Russia in 1932, he was offered a post at the Psycho-Technical Institute in Sverdlovsk, and served with the Institute two years. He revisited the Urals in 1936 and 1940. Meanwhile he worked with the *New York Times* Moscow Bureau and the *London News Chronicle*, and acted as Moscow correspondent for the Federated Press.

against Japan in Manchuria. If these two countries demand enforcement of peace, no nation in the world today will dare to challenge them.

The peace enforcement powers of the big five—the USA, the USSR, Great Britain, China and France—are stressed in Moscow by the newspaper, *Izvestia*, which says: "Efforts to prevent war in the past were purely declaratory, unsupported by action," whereas the United Nations assembly can embody "the will to peace of the five major powers, which have an overwhelming preponderance of manpower, resources and military power at their disposal."

World peace has been a major objective in American-Russian relations ever since 1933 when Hitler rose to power. The author of *Mission to Moscow*, former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, recently declared about the American recognition of Soviet Russia in 1933:



—Sovfoto

Joseph E. Davies leaving the Soviet Union. This is the scene described in "Mission to Moscow."

It was initiated by the President of the United States. The agreement was closed by the usual exchange of notes between the presidents of the two countries, which contained the usual conventional statement of purpose to better relations, and the like.

But there was another and extraordinary fact, which appeared from these notes. Both expressed as their purpose "the preservation of world peace." Five years before Munich, and while the world slept, the United States and the Soviet Union, the two nations of the world containing the largest contiguous land territory within their boundaries, and composed of three hundred million vigorous people, either intuitively or consciously through their leadership, in 1933 not only sensed but foresaw the impending threat to their liberties and to the world, and took joint action *then* for the preservation of world peace.

We Fought to Build a Peaceful World

Both America and Russia fought to rid the world of aggression and gain the opportunity to build a peaceful world. This war aim has been forcibly expressed by Commander Stassen's aide to the San Francisco Conference, Cord Meyer, Jr., who says:

To my mind there is only one purpose in terms of which the war is justifiable and which is at all commensurate with what is daily and irretrievably lost. In the victory of our enemies we should have had absolutely no hope for the future. By our victory we gain the opportunity to construct by intelligent and radical reform a more equitable society and a peaceful world. In the light of that purpose alone do the deaths of our friends have dignity and our own misfortunes significance. If we do not employ the opportunity with honesty and foresight, then our approaching triumph is only an illusion. (*Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1945)

The Russians also demand that the peace not be lost. After Soviet Russia entered the war against Japan, *Izvestia* editorialized: "Voicing the attitude of the whole Soviet people, a Moscow worker said: 'An end must be put to aggressors once and for all. And the quicker the better.' The precious and noble blood of the Soviet people has not been shed in vain. The banners of the great coalition of the freedom-loving nations are flying victoriously. The long-awaited dawn of the peaceful labor of nations is rising over the world."

2. What Common Interests and Traditions Do America and Russia Share?

Security within the national domain is a common interest shared alike by the United States and Soviet Russia as they rise to meet the responsibilities of stabilizing the peace of the world. In equal measure their respective national security is no longer



to be found in distance alone. For all nations, air power, robombs and the atomic weapon have wiped out the last remnants of the safety once found in geographical isolation whether behind ocean or mountain barriers. After the last world war the United States and Soviet Russia for different reasons sought to keep the peace by minding their own business at home. Both failed. The common interest of national security today leads both nations to embrace a parallel policy of commitments to international obligation.

Parallel Pioneer Traditions

In history both America and Russia have followed many parallel lines. Both countries are "melting pots" with peoples of many races, traditions and customs living together. The people of both nations have been pioneers who mastered the continental spaces of their national domains. Both countries are continental empires which grew up internally rather than by overseas, colonial expansion. American pioneers moved westward across America toward the ocean; Russian pioneers moved eastward across Asia toward the same ocean. Across the North Pacific today our Far West faces the Siberian Far

East—both areas of vital importance in winning the victory over Japan.

Both nations—the United States and the Soviet Union—were born of revolution and warfare in which their respective peoples reasserted their rights to human freedom, rebelling against domestic and imported tyranny. Both revolutions—the American in 1775 and the Russian in 1917—have had profound influence on the history of the world, and still make that influence powerfully felt. Nurtured on traditions of revolutionary struggle, both the American and the Soviet people share democratic aspirations, although the content of their struggle varies. In America it is political, in Russia economic. Accordingly, we find Americans using political means to gain economic ends such as full employment; whereas we see Russians using economic means to gain political ends, such as expulsion of kulaks, bureaucrats, careerists. These differences apply to internal affairs and need not complicate our foreign affairs. Love of freedom is universal and its forms of struggle



—DOV/010

In Grabow, Germany, Russians shake hands with men of the 82nd Airborne Division, first allied airborne army. Peace must be built on mutual respect and cooperation forged in war.

vary with time and circumstance. This is recognized when we call the Red Army's epic stand at Stalingrad the Gettysburg of the Russo-German war.

American-Russian Commerce

The mutual advantages of American-Russian commerce are emphasized by Milo Perkins, former Executive Director of the Board of Economic Warfare:

After suffering two invasions in a generation, Russia desperately wants peace and security. Her living standards have been sharply reduced by Nazi destruction. She must, therefore, step up her production of consumer goods at home as rapidly as possible. If the United States and Russia can establish a trading and investment relationship which will help us expand our foreign trade on a profitable basis and help the Soviets to accelerate their industrialization program at the same time, the cause of world peace will be served. In such a climate there is every likelihood that Russia will cooperate in developing policies acceptable to us in countries bordering on the Soviet Union. (*Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1945)

Voicing similar feelings, Republican Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire recently said:

Let us not forget that the Soviet people have poured out their blood in a common struggle against fascism; that in their reconstruction period they will provide American heavy industry with its greatest market and that we have no basic areas of competition on foreign trade. We should be friends and good neighbors. This is no time to mess up the situation. This is no time to rock the boat.

Soviet Russia now has an A-1 credit rating among American exporters. Prospects for expanded American trade with Russia have been considerably improved with the US grant of long-term credits scaled at a billion dollars. The USSR can pay for what she imports: (1) out of her huge gold, silver and platinum reserves; (2) with dollars spent in that country by American tourists; and (3) by reverse trade, the export to US of strategic minerals such as manganese and staples such as furs.

Humanitarian Aspirations

Public welfare is a common interest shared by the citizens of

both nations. In the Soviet Union the nation's bill for medical service, social security, aid to the poor and needy, is paid from the state budget. In the United States social services are still, for the most part, volunteer activities assumed by high-spirited persons and welfare groups, most often associated with the churches and religious bodies. Here is what an informed American clergyman, William Howard Melish, has to say:

Religious groups in the Soviet Union today are pursuing their life of faith and worship without interference and without crippling restraints. It is true that the sphere of church activities is circumscribed by the nature of a socialist society, in that such a society has taken over many of the philanthropic and educational functions which have hitherto been associated with religious institutions; that is, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, schools and the like. Surely religious Americans cannot object if a country desires at public expense to make available to all the people the same social services which in other lands the churches have pioneered at private expense. Ought we not acknowledge this as an extension of moral and social principles of religion? (*The Churchman*, June 15, 1945)

The present viewpoint of the Soviet leaders on religion was expressed by Premier Stalin in a recent interview granted to a British clergyman. "Religion can not be stopped," said Stalin. "Conscience can not be stilled. Religion is a matter of conscience and conscience is free. Worship and religion are free." Stalin was quoted in the interview as adding that whereas the old Russian church was hostile to the Soviet regime, the war has shown the Church how patriotic the Soviets were and likewise demonstrated to the Soviets the patriotism of the church.

Russia, once denounced around the world for her pogroms, has solved the question of religious tolerance in a way that is hailed by such a prominent Jewish leader as Mrs. Stephen S. Wise. In New York recently Mrs. Wise said:

The Soviet Union is freed from anti-Semitism. That is one reason why we should appreciate it. The Soviet Union has made it a crime to be an anti-Semite. And while we are proud of our great country, let us learn from the Russians what Russia is doing to bring peace to the world. . . . The Soviet Union has shown the world the way in which to deal with anti-Semitism, which it pun-

ishes, not because it is against the Jews, but because it is against the highest interests of the peace of the country. The world will go far towards genuine progress in human relationships if it deals with anti-Semitism in the Russian way.

Americans of high humanitarian purpose find they can make common cause with the people of the Soviet Union.

3. On What Issues Do United States and Soviet Russia Differ?

Areas of contrast are not necessarily zones of conflict but rather points of difference in national psychology, in environment, in approach to world problems wherein a strong common interest may be manifested.



The wartime agitation over the opening of a "second front" in western Europe was for a period a first-class area of contrast. Both Russia and America were united in the common struggle to defeat Hitler Germany, but differed on how to accomplish the enemy's defeat. Germany was "overland" from Russia. From America Germany was "overseas." The Russians called for more allied land armies on the continent. American military leaders cautioned delay until shipping was up to the level demanded.

The enemy took advantage of these differences to tell Americans that they could never mobilize enough shipping to land an effective invasion force, and that even if an invasion were carried through, only the Russians would gain by it, since they were on the ground floor in Europe. The "Bolshevik hordes" would overrun the continent, said Berlin. To the Russians, Goebbels

told another story, saying it was futile for them to expect aid from distant America and even should it be forthcoming, it would be "too little and too late." Make peace with Hitler, said Berlin. All enemy propaganda notwithstanding, the Allies ultimately did invade western Europe and the American-British-French-Russian armies did close a common pincers on Berlin, smashing the criminal Nazi regime. The big job was accomplished despite the minor discords.

With nations as with individuals points of contrast can be multiplied and overemphasized until the mutual relations are completely distorted, making impossible a true estimate of the personal or national character.

Different Political Systems

There is no denying that the political systems of capitalist America and socialist Russia differ fundamentally. Some observers, such as Demaree Bess, class the Soviet state with Fascist Germany as a "totalitarian" form of government, and since we fought beside the Soviets, they say that the war was not fought to destroy "totalitarianism." This is a denial that differing *forms* of government were a cause of World War II, from which we emerge in a world "made up of a great assortment of governments." If difference in governmental form did not cause World War II, as Mr. Bess argues, there is good reason to believe that such governmental differences will not lead us into a third world war, with Russia.

"Well, I have watched the Soviet system at work over long periods," concludes Demaree Bess (after discoursing on the Russian "totalitarian" state). "And I am neither so enthusiastic about it nor so much afraid of it as some Americans seem to be. We can be sure of one thing—namely, that the Russian people are sick and tired of all kinds of wars, and are in a mood to demand some dividends for their bitter sacrifices. Marshal Stalin is a practical politician and has proved in the past that he can correctly estimate the moods of the Russian people." (*Saturday Evening Post*, July 7, 1945)

There is, however, a danger in reviving the old "Communazi" myth of post-Munich days to explain away the victory over Fascist Germany. This myth classed Fascist Germany and Socialist Russia together as one and the same in policy and interests. Inveterate critics of the Soviets, such as W. H. Chamberlain, now maintain that one cause for World War II was the "conviction" that we could not do business with Hitler. Reasoning thus, Mr. Chamberlain then suggests by subtle inference reasons for a "lack of conviction" that we will be able to do business with Stalin.

In line with the "Communazi" myth some people hold that "Stalin is a dictator just like Hitler was." On this point former US Ambassador to Moscow Admiral William H. Standley writes: "It is plain to me that we are under a misapprehension about Mr. Stalin's role as a dictator. He never makes a decision without consulting heads of departments and military chiefs of staff." (*Colliers*, July 22, 1945)

For both America and Russia the potential danger spots are outside the national domain in areas where both powers exert an influence over the destiny of satellite smaller nations. These areas are zones where mutual security interests overlap. They can be spotted today as Germany, Poland, Trieste, Salonika, Turkey, Iran, Korea and Manchuria. In discussion about the final settlement of strategic control in these zones we can expect much talk about American "Imperialism" and Soviet "Expansionism." These issues will be discussed under Question 5.

Strike A Balance!

A clear conception of the real Russia is vital to understanding. Here is what Albert Rhys Williams, who lived for more than a decade among the Russian people, has to say:

One day some years ago when I was plodding along the dusty roads back from the Volga, clad in an old Russian blouse and sandals, a peasant gave me a lift in his wagon. After some conversation in Russian, his curiosity was aroused. Usually a stranger shows by his accent from what province in Russia he comes. My accent is 100 per cent mid-west American—like nothing he had ever heard before. Puzzled, but polite, he queried:

"May I ask, tovarisch, from what province you might be coming?"

"From the biggest and richest in the world," I replied vaingloriously.

"From America."

Pausing a moment as he eyed my shabby clothes and shoes, he remarked softly, "So you're from the richest province in the world, eh? And now, may I ask, tovarisch, how much of those riches belong to you? What have you got out of it?"

For a correct appraisal one should list both Russia's successes and failures, and strike a balance between the good and the bad. The tendency, however, in the case of a country which challenges or shocks many of our long-cherished ideas and beliefs, is to emphasize its negative sides. And it is easier, too, to dramatize evil than virtue. One could discourse endlessly on what one doesn't like in Russia—from two kinds of cold water in the taps to bureaucrats, purges and repression.

Not by its negative aspects, however, can one explain or evaluate the Soviet Union—or any other nation or people. America has probably delivered the greatest measure of well-being to the greatest number of people of any country in the history of the world. But one could get no concept of that by focusing on gangsters, suicides, unemployed. Neither can one get any conception of the strength and spirit of the Soviets by concentrating upon their dark sides. Yet that is what the public were doing for the past few years, up to the war. They knew little about Soviet achievements; a great deal about Soviet follies, failures, cruelties.

With this one-sided, distorted picture, no wonder Americans were amazed by the turn of events in Russia. They had come to believe that the country, hopelessly disorganized, was infested with Quislings and traitors. Then they saw the Soviets standing up almost single-handed to the assault of those German armies which in the last war was borne by the land forces of five Great Powers. . . .

They had come to believe that the Soviet people were cowed and spiritless or, seething with rebellion, were ready to rise up and welcome the invader. Then they heard Winston Churchill calling upon the British public to emulate the devotion and loyalty of the Soviet peoples to their leaders and government. They saw almost every Russian man, woman, and child working or fighting in defense of their country, vindicating that statement of (Marshal) Voroshilov, "Our soldiers are all the Soviet People." (Williams, A. R., *The Russians*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., p. 3, 9)

Miscalculations

Many dire prophecies have been uttered about the Soviet

Union itself and our relations to her, and many false estimates have been made of Soviet strength by those who concentrate on her negative aspects. Harry F. Ward, Professor Emeritus of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, has spent a lifetime studying the economic bases of modern civilization and the influence of economics on ethical and political values. Dr. Ward has this explanation for miscalculations about Soviet Russia:

All the world now knows how utterly wrong were those military experts and diplomats who advised their governments that the Soviet Union could not withstand the Nazi blitzkrieg for more than a few weeks. But most of the world does not yet know why these men were so wrong. . . . What was speaking behind the mask of their expert authority was not knowledge of the facts or the controlling factors, but political prejudice, class interest, and economic fear. They refused to believe that the Soviet leaders were bent on building socialism in their own country. Then they couldn't believe that the building of socialism was succeeding, because they feared its success. . . .

To most citizens of the United States it seems that a miracle has happened in the Soviet Union. That is because they have been kept so long in ignorance and deceived about what has been happening there. Quentin Reynolds, war correspondent, cabled back soon after he got to Moscow: "It is now plain that more lies have been told about the Soviet Union in the last twenty years than about any other nation."

Twice I went to the Soviet Union for study. Each time I saw what would be a miracle of history to those who did not understand what was behind the events. My purpose was to find out whether the incentives of an infant socialist society were as powerful and practical as those of the capitalist world, and whether their weaknesses and dangers could be overcome as those of the profit motive had not been.

The evidence showed that the Soviet economy was succeeding and would succeed. Recent developments have provided additional proof. . . . The record of Soviet achievements in this war has made it plain to all the world. (Ward, H. F., *The Soviet Spirit*, International, 1944)

A Great Mutual Debt

In August, 1945, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., Wall Street lawyer, returned from Moscow where he had been serving as a member of the Allied Commission on Reparations. Asked for a statement for *Social Action* magazine on the conflicting and common interests of Russia and United States, he replied:

The main responsibility for organizing the victory over the Axis devolved upon the United States and Russia. We now owe each other a great mutual debt of gratitude. The best augury for the future would be a conscious effort by the people and government of the United States to emphasize the sacrifices which Soviet Russia was required to make, the five to eight million Soviet soldiers who lost their lives—the fifteen to twenty million Russian civilians who died in Leningrad, in White Russia, the Ukraine and the Crimea, as victims of the Nazi invasion—the Russian homes and cities that were destroyed as the Soviets scorched their earth to impede the enemy. We should ourselves make it as plain as we can to them that we know and understand.

Historically both the United States and Russia have a heritage of isolation—a deep rooted suspicion of other nations—a provincial attitude akin to that of country folk toward the "city slicker"—an almost congenital "inferiority complex" finding an outlet in assertive confidence that "ours is the only true way." One of our principal concerns should obviously be ceaseless opposition to resurgence or growth of "isolationism" under whatever name its proponents may attempt to foster it.

Prior to 1940, Russia—Tsarist or Soviet—was to most Americans a remote land of baffling contradictions. Wartime prejudices, bolstered with misinformation, vied with the heralds of Utopia in confusing the American public. The arduous credulity of the American people accepted the fantastic—discounted the obvious. For over a decade, Goebbels hammered away, employing the technique of the "Big Lie oft repeated." A considerable segment of the American public were persuaded by the Nazi line. Happily, the epic facts of Soviet performance in the war had a very substantial counteracting influence.

We should frankly and mutually face the situation that our respective countries present a contest in efficiency between two different social systems. What we need to understand and agree upon effectively is that there will be no intervention to force social changes, either by outright intervention such as we attempted after World War I at Archangel, or by clandestine interference such as the Comintern once attempted to foster here.

Both peoples have a great present yearning for national military security and peace of demonstrably long historical standing. Just as the United States is requiring security bases in the Pacific, so the Soviets are requiring security on their extensive land frontiers. Our respective attitudes toward the United Nations Organization are much alike. We both want it to work but we want to have

more certainty of its permanent effectiveness and direction before we put all our eggs in its basket. Now is a crucial period of testing which demands the utmost in tolerance and mutual understanding with an intelligent give and take.

Of course there are many delicate problems growing out of the war which will require wisdom to solve. There are financial and economic issues to be met to obviate "dumping" and "price cutting." These will involve compromises. But our need for each other is mutual. The other nations of the world can have no security unless we two are together. The others may share equally with us in the benefits of peace but the responsibility for peace rests primarily on our two great nations. If we stand together there can be "One World."

The Conflict Potential

With areas of actual and apparent contrast between the US and the Soviet Union, potential conflict is not ruled out in their future relations. However, factors are now operating against the development of a conflict situation. First, the pull of a long-standing traditional friendship combined with strong new bonds forged in common warfare against common enemies are strong forces moving us toward conciliation, not inevitable conflict, in our relations with Russia. In the spring and summer of 1945 when the war against the Axis was moving to a triumphant conclusion, the American public was treated to a table-thumping press campaign which proclaimed that an American-Russian war was inevitable. As spokesman of the US State Department, Archibald MacLeish then declared:

The vital interests of the US and the USSR conflict at no point on the earth's surface. The US and the USSR are countries independently rich in their own resources, needing little from the world outside.

The US and the USSR are both "young, strong, self-confident" countries with their own business to attend to, countries which aim, even in dissimilar ways, at betterment of the lot of their own people and not at conquest of the earth.

What is important is this: that the true facts about the world, if only we will look at those true facts, proved beyond the possibility of question that there is no reason in logic, and no reason in

substance, why the Russians and ourselves cannot make and preserve a long and lasting peace.

4. How Can the Areas of Common Interest Be Expanded?

Expansion of our common interests with foreign countries is a means to cancel out minor discords and a cardinal principle of the American "Good Neighbor" policy. Two basic areas for expansion of common interests are commerce and diplomacy. In the area of commerce, American businessmen are becoming increasingly aware of Russia as a source of trade.



Among the leading businessmen questioned by the *Fortune* Poll (reported in issue for September, 1945), 91.2 per cent believed that trade with the Soviet Union is to our long-term advantage, and 84 per cent wanted her to get the \$6,000,000,000 credit requested.

In the field of diplomacy, the US and Russia are constantly expanding their areas of mutual interest. After the last war neither US nor USSR shared in the organization of the league of nations. Today both nations are keystones in the world security foundation. US has been showing more and more interest in having Russia represented at all conferences affecting her interests in the Mediterranean and in Asia. The Dardanelles, for example, is an international problem and US desires that it be treated as such. In days when the press is constantly highlighting minor discords we can take heart in the knowledge that we have come a long way in our diplomacy since 1942.



—Sovfoto

USSR chess champion, Grand Master M. Botvinnik at the board during radio match between Russian and American chess teams.

Beyond Trade and Diplomacy

What are some of the means by which our common interests with Soviet Russia can be and are being expanded beyond the realm of diplomacy and commerce? There are several. In the fields of recreation, education and science Americans and Russians are regarding each other in new ways.

Labor Day found an American chess team in New York lined up in an international tournament against a Russian chess team in Moscow. The moves were exchanged by radio. Mayor La Guardia in opening the match at the New York end said that he looked forward to the day when Russian and American teams would be competing in all sports. New York's Mayor remarked appropriately that chess was a good beginning "because there's not much talking and no arguing. Of course," he added, "the Russians will have to learn baseball. But by that

time the Council of the United Nations will be in a position to act as referee."

Education is another realm in which new developments are taking place in America's understanding of Russia. Supported by a Rockefeller Foundation grant, a Russian Institute has been established at Columbia University in New York to train American specialists in Russian affairs. Graduates will be placed in responsible posts in Government service and teaching, in international trade and finance. Similar institutes have been founded at Cornell, Yale and other universities.

On November 1 a United Nations Conference will meet in London to set up an international educational and cultural organization for the first time in history, and implement the cultural aims set forth at the San Francisco security conference. The organization's aims are:

- (1) to develop mutual understanding of the culture, arts, and sciences of the peoples of the world, as a basis for effective international organization;
- (2) to cooperate in making available to all peoples the world's full body of knowledge and culture.

Recently an American delegation of scientists visited Moscow to attend the 220th anniversary celebrations of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Among them was Dr. Irving Langmuir, a Nobel Prize winner now with the General Electric Company. In a press interview Dr. Langmuir said:

We believe that cooperation can best be fostered by: first, visits of Soviet scientists to the United States for conferences and for visits to our laboratories and scientific institutions; and, second, by the interchange of publications and the establishment of several new international scientific journals in specialized fields. Preliminary steps have already been taken for the publication of such journals in Russian, English and French. I believe that the great majority of the people, both in the United States and the Soviet Union, deeply desire friendly and closer constructive relations.

5. How Do US and USSR Line Up in Europe and Asia?

Shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, former Soviet Ambassador to Washington Maxim Litvinoff arrived at San Francisco to declare, "We are all in the same boat." Today after the surrender of Japan and of Germany, we find America and Russia



still in the same boat. It is now a global Ship of State wrought by the mastercraftsmen of the "Big Three" who planned and executed the grand strategy of the coalition war against aggression.

The Potsdam conference established a Council of Foreign Ministers to formulate the terms of peace. U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes and Russian Foreign Commissar Molotov are members, as are also the foreign ministers of Britain, France and China. The agenda before the statesmen is formulation of the peace treaties to be imposed on the defeated Axis nations—Germany, Italy and Japan.

Peace is still in process of becoming secure. We must not forget that in the new world line-up the US and USSR stand side by side, shouldering new responsibilities that have emerged with the victory. These responsibilities are world-wide in scope, and concern the future of nations defeated in the war as well as the destiny of the victors. Moreover, these new responsibilities are in the realm of foreign affairs for each great power involved. Both America and Russia are holding down former enemy territory with armies of occupation. Both coun-

tries are seeking to bring order into the affairs of nations in which the native peoples are neither American nor Russian. Neither the US nor the USSR can bandy about with impunity charges of meddling in the affairs of other nations.

We cannot withdraw from the involvements of victory any more than we could escape the original involvement in the war. The passing of the Axis has removed the threat to national security, the basis on which national defense was mobilized both in America and in Russia. In both countries today tentative efforts are being made to search across the political vacuum created by defeat of the common enemies, for the new international bases on which future security can rest. How do the Russians view this national problem?

We Seek New Bases for Strategic Security

Writing about the San Francisco Conference which he attended, Joseph Barnes, the foreign editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*, said recently:

It was clear that the Kremlin was eager to protect the Soviet Union by means of concentric rings of defense, one of which would be the Red Army itself, another the security system being worked out at this conference, still a third the treaties with which the USSR had already sought to guard itself politically against any recrudescence of German aggression. This last ring of defense was not seen by the Russians as conflicting in any way with the world-wide security system, and they were anxious not to weaken it.

The Russian position at the outset was to oppose all regional arrangements unless they were specifically directed against any renewal of German aggression. This position came into direct conflict with the regional arrangements worked out in the Act of Chapultepec, in which the countries of this hemisphere had earlier agreed to take common measures against aggression from any source. The final compromise left the Act of Chapultepec and the Soviet regional arrangements both in force. The treaties which made up these regional arrangements are to remain in force, as Mr. Molotov defined it after Big Five agreement had been reached on this point, "until such time as the governments concerned felt that the international security organization was really in a position to undertake the accomplishment of the task of preventing aggres-

sion laid down in these treaties." (*The American Review on the Soviet Union*, August, 1945)

This solution of the question of regional arrangements is tantamount to a recognition that the treaties which Russia has concluded with neighboring states, including China, are essentially of a defense character rather than a new form of aggression, or Soviet "expansionism." This means that Russian insistence on friendly governments along her borders in Eastern Europe as well as in Asia is being increasingly regarded in America as similar to our own Pan-American and Pacific policy. The question of territorial expansion in the colonial sense is not involved, as far as the US and the USSR are concerned. As a matter of fact, the USSR in total area has less extensive territory than the Czarist Empire had before World War I. Whether in the Balkans or in the Far East, the Soviet Union is insisting on rights of strategic control aimed at preventing a resurgence of aggression against her frontiers. There is a resemblance here to the methods by which the US is safeguarding national security. The new world security structure is rising on nationalist underpinnings, which seem to be the only practical foundation in our present world society on which international organization can rest.

As the *Harper's Magazine* associate editor, John Fischer, writes: "*Strategic* control does not necessarily mean *political* control. Some islands—such as Iceland and New Zealand—will of course remain entirely independent, but firmly tied to America by explicit or implicit understandings; others—such as Cuba and Bermuda—may remain independent except for small areas leased to the United States for air and naval installations." This arrangement runs parallel to the Russian leasing of Port Arthur from the Chinese under the provisions of the new friendship treaty.

We Discover Global Cross-Currents

Soviet Russia entered the Pacific war "to insure the absolute security of the eastern frontiers of our country," as *Izvestia* put

it, adding, "The Japanese imperialist aggressors encroaching on our State frontiers have always been the enemies of our people." The Red Army also entered the war against Japan by agreement with the Allies reached at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, and PM's Max Werner notes that the Soviet pact with China "again stresses what I pointed out several times: cooperation with the United States has undisputable priority in Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union is ready to make concessions to China if China is willing to become a bridge and the link between the Soviet Union and the United States. With this pact, Soviet policy toward China became basically identical with our own.

"The unity in Asia," Werner concludes, "will favor common policy in Europe. It is clear that if agreement is reached on China and in China, then Bulgaria or Rumania or Greece cannot remain a stumbling block in the path of American-Soviet cooperation."

This interaction between what we do in Asia and what we do in Europe was re-emphasized on September 11 in a *New York Times* editorial critical of America's "gloved hand" policy toward defeated Japan. The *Times* said: "We cannot pursue one policy in Europe and another in Japan without indicting one policy by the other and laying ourselves open to misunderstandings and suspicions of ulterior motives in a world that is already too full of them."

We Must Respect Our Wartime Allies

In building toward permanent peace there is much acrimonious criticism of Russia in the American press, of America in the Russian press. This criticism can be of value only if it is constructive in nature, with emphasis on mutual responsibility to take initiative in maintaining the peace. A line of irreconcilable antagonism can only aid the enemy forces whose only hope for a comeback is that the wartime alliances will break up before the peace is firmly established.

The mutual attitudes of the US and the USSR toward China

in Asia and toward Britain in Europe are of crucial importance. The enemy knew this well during the war. His propaganda effort among our allies in China and the British Isles was directed toward sowing suspicion against Washington and Moscow. (See photostat of one of the leaflets which the Nazis hurled by the millions at our troops in Europe.)

What are the facts today? The Council of Foreign Ministers meets in London, the British capital, as this is written. There is, of course, much jockeying for position, and for influence on the part of each nation. But the dominant desire is

to carry through to a successful conclusion the peace settlement with regard to Germany, Italy and Japan. In Washington discussions are taking place between British and American commerce experts on how to establish reciprocal trade relations based not on "lend-lease" but on some form of cash and credit basis.

As for Moscow's attitude toward Britain, the Dean of Canterbury, following a recent interview, quoted Stalin as saying that it was easy for Britain and the USSR to keep together when they were fighting Germany side by side but that now, with Germany beaten, it was less easy to avoid friction.

"But we want to do it," Stalin said. "We have no wish whatsoever to hurt England or hinder England. We want to be friends with England and friends in deeds as well as in words. If your politicians will do it we will."

MOSCOW and WASHINGTON

have already decided
the fate of Great-Britain

They want to reduce her to an unimportant "Red Island" on the fringe of a (hoped for) Soviet-Europe.

Uncle Sam takes Britain's riches, her gold, her money and her foreign investments under the clever Jewish "lease-lend" scheme. U. S. troops are in India and nearly 20 other British possessions, naval bases and zones of interest. The Far-East has been lost to Japan.

Communist Stalin takes the rest, starting with Iran, Iraq, North Africa, Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, even southern Italy and Egypt. His agents are everywhere, undermining British influence, British prestige.

AI - 107 - 9 - 44

Photostat of German propaganda
leaflet.

6. Is USSR Likely to Change Basic Policy?

There is no indication that the Soviet peoples will seek other leaders to guide them after having been brought by the present regime through their greatest test of strength with flying colors. In the Soviet Union the victory is attributed to the superiority of



the socialist system of economy over that of the fascist countries, in so far as that victory was attained by the Red Army and its rear industrial arsenals. The Russians suffered many casualties during the war both in a human and a material sense, but their economic system was not among the war victims. It has emerged stronger than before, though greatly weakened in total output capacity. The war has set the clock of Soviet industrial progress back about five years. Today the Russians launch forward on a new five-year plan to restore the devastated areas and to achieve levels of output above those reached in pre-war years.

The Soviet economy remains based on national control of all the basic resources and industries. There is no evidence to indicate a return to the private property system of capitalism. Although Soviet industrial managers may be compared in their functions within the socialist economy to American executives working for capitalist corporations there is no ladder of advancement in Russia from the salaried manager to the private owner.

Foreign Policy Unchanged

Since the internal regime in the Soviet Union emerges more



—Sovfoto

Workers clear a liberated factory yard in Gorlovka, Donbas of war debris. The German invasion caused damage in Russia assessed at \$135,000,000,000.

solidly in power, it can be taken for granted that the policies of collaboration with friendly nations which have in the past actuated the foreign relations of the Soviets will likewise remain in force. In terms of Soviet relations with America this means that Russia will seek to remain on a basis of peaceful cooperation and mutually profitable commerce. To build up their own war-ravaged country and advance to new higher standards of living, the Soviets need and will work for a lasting peace.

7. Will US Back Up Its Foreign Policy with a Strong Domestic Policy?

The US emerges from the war the most powerful industrial nation on earth, and some observers say it is now the world's last stronghold of private capitalism. In these circumstances a vain chauvinism can nourish the seeds of our own downfall. "Pride goeth before the fall."

Among the belligerent powers we are the only great nation that has emerged with industries intact and cities unbombed. Our losses in fighting men have been comparatively small—about 300,000 among the war dead; whereas in such a small nation as Yugoslavia more than a million and a half of its citizens have been killed, most of whom died fighting the Germans and traitors at home. To our citizenry the war has been “overseas,” while to the peoples of Europe and Asia it has been a holocaust at home.

While we emerge with economic strength at the highest level in our history, we are weakened by political dissension at home centering around issues of reconversion and peacetime employment. To secure the peace abroad we must secure it at



home. The People's Peace for us at home must come to mean jobs for everybody, and first of all, for the millions of servicemen now returning from overseas. If we deny our own citizens the benefits of a just peace of abundance for all, can we presume to leadership as a champion of democracy abroad?

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the challenge of full employment will not be met unless there is a measure of economic planning. Realizing this some of the nation's principal business leaders organized, under the chairmanship of Paul G. Hoffman, the Committee for Economic Development, which has since 1942 been making plans “towards maintaining high levels of productivity and employment in the postwar period.” Alfred P. Sloan, Beardsley Ruml, and many other

business leaders have advanced plans; and Henry J. Kaiser offered three years ago a formula which was designated as "a plan to end all plans." Organized labor as representative of millions of workers has likewise sponsored studies and offered plans for full employment. These forward-looking men of business and of labor recognize and warn that private industry will not survive unless it meets the challenge of unemployment.

Since our present world is interdependent, most domestic issues have their international aspect. For example, Secretary of State Byrnes objected to the elections sponsored by the Russians in Bulgaria as undemocratic; public-spirited citizens at home called his attention to the lack of democratic elections in our southern poll-tax states. In the economic sphere the interrelations are still more clear. Expanded commerce abroad will help solve our domestic employment problems by keeping our factories busy. Therefore, in working toward full production, full employment and full consumption at home we cannot afford to neglect the building up of friendly commerce with nations who fought on our side to victory in the war. In building peace abroad we help promote full employment at home.

8. How Can Enduring World Peace Be Built?

There are three basic foundations which must exist if the world is to have enduring peace. First, we must have a functioning world security organization based on the United Nations Charter and projecting into the peace the allied coalition of power





—Radio Sovfoto

Joseph Stalin, Harry Truman, James Byrnes, and Vyachislav Molotov at the Berlin Conference. Not until the London Conference of Foreign Ministers were Russia and America to learn that peace may be more difficult to achieve than military victory.

which came out on top during the war. This new organization will rise on the basis of the United Nations Charter, of which President Truman said at the close of the San Francisco conference:

The Constitution of my own country came from a convention which—like this one—was made up of delegates with many different views. Like this Charter, our Constitution came from a free and somewhat bitter exchange of conflicting opinions. When it was adopted, no one regarded it as a perfect document. But it grew and developed and expanded. And upon it there was built a bigger, a better, and a more perfect union.

This Charter, like our own Constitution, will be expanded and improved as time goes on. No one claims that it is now a final and a perfect instrument. It has not been poured into a fixed mold. Changing world conditions will require readjustments—but they will be readjustments of peace and not of war. . . . You have created a great instrument for peace and security and human progress in the world. The world must now use it.

Already the prospective United Nations Organization is being underwritten by the Russians. In the preamble to the recent Chinese-Russian thirty-year Treaty of Friendship, we read that it was agreed upon by the two powers "acting in accordance

with the principles affirmed in the common declaration of the United Nations on the First of January, 1942, the Declaration of the four Powers signed in Moscow on October 30, 1943, and in formation of the International Organization of United Nations."

Reciprocal Commerce

A second foundation for enduring peace must be reciprocal commerce. We have abundant testimony of American businessmen that the prospects for continued American-Russian commerce are good. The former chairman of the US War Production Board, Donald M. Nelson, speaking in New York, in November, 1943, at a public conference organized by the Council of American Soviet Friendship, said:

Even before I went to Russia, I was aware that there is every reason for the United States and Russia to do business together. We are not competitors in world markets, and both countries have much to gain from economic cooperation. But now I realize that temperamentally as well as economically the Russians will make good customers for the United States and good suppliers of such raw materials as we may need from there. The Russians whom I met understand the meaning of a square deal and a firm agreement. I recognize good faith when I see it.

At one point in my conversation with Mr. Stalin, he said to me, "Any obligation undertaken by this Government will be repaid in full—and not by token payments." That is unquestionably the Russian position. In his thinking and in the thinking of all the Russian leaders with whom I talked, I found no trace either of a desire to deceive others, or of self-deception. I am convinced that we Americans who are a businesslike people, will find sound men with whom to do business in that vast, powerful, and developing country.

Mutual Understanding with Vision

A third foundation of enduring peace must be mutual understanding among the nations of the world and a forward-looking vision all over the world. Since the US and the USSR are now the world's most powerful nations, they can do the most to promote the necessary mutual understanding among themselves and thus set an example for other nations to follow. The need

for vision to lead the world's people forward is urgent and compelling. This is recognized by outstanding American public leaders.

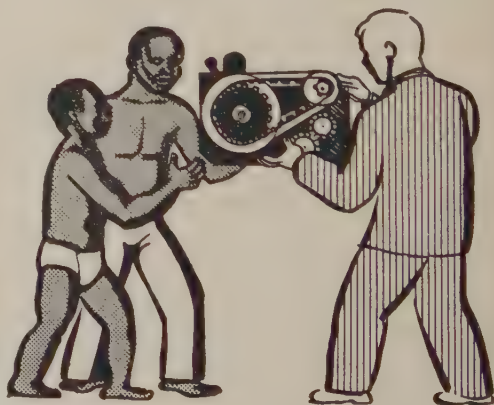
Here is what Wendell Willkie said in *One World*:

"I don't know the answers to all the questions about Russia, but there's one thing I know, that such a force, such a power, such a people cannot be ignored or disposed of with a high hat or a lifting of the skirt. We cannot act as if we were housewives going into an A & P store, picking and choosing among the groceries displayed; taking this, leaving that. The plain fact is, we have no choice in the matter. Russia will be reckoned with. That is the reason why I am constantly telling my fellow Americans: work in ever-closer cooperation with the Russians while we are joined together in the common purpose of defeating a common enemy. . . .

"I believe it is possible for Russia and America, perhaps the most powerful countries in the world, to work together for the economic welfare and the peace of the world. At least, knowing that there can be no enduring peace, no economic stability, unless the two work together, there is nothing I ever wanted more to believe. And so deep is my faith in the fundamental rightness of our free economic and political institutions that I am convinced they will survive any such working together."

9. How Can Both Countries Promote Civilization and Peace?

The first thing that must be done is to enforce the peace. This involves acceptance of mutual responsibility for the prevention of war and for the building of a peaceful world. It involves also a realistic approach to present world affairs.



"This war has demonstrated that the nation which controls the air controls its own fate," declared General H. H. Arnold, chief of the US Air Forces on August 1, 1945, Air Force Day. He continued: "And if that nation's prime objective is a peaceful world, an air force is in the implementing an instrument of first importance. General Eisenhower was not just making conversation when he said, 'We will have peace if we have to fight for it.' It was a profound statement—a must for the new realistic policy which has been accepted by all peace-loving nations."

Another war veteran, a serviceman looking at the peace, Cord Meyer, Jr., says:

There is only one direction in which we can proceed if we seriously intend to transform the anarchy in which we live into the order and justice of which the Preamble to the (United Nations) Charter wishfully speaks. Just as within any democratic country the groups of people living in its various communities retain the right to deal with local affairs, but delegate the power to deal with those issues that affect all to the national government that is over all, so the people living within the nations of the world must delegate to the higher government the power to decide those issues that are international. (*Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1945)

Enforcement of peace within the framework of the new world organization—that is the first action both the United States and Soviet Russia can take to promote civilization and peace.

Industrialize the Backward Nations

The second thing that can be done is to assist in the industrialization of the backward nations. The peace can never be secure so long as there remain underprivileged nations or people anywhere. The significance to our nation of industrialization in backward areas is well described by Milo Perkins, who said:

Industrialization of underdeveloped nations creates a new class of skilled workers which incidentally can lay the basis for middle-class democracy. Whether a nation exploits its workers to produce sweatshop goods in order to capture export markets quickly, or whether it pays them more money as their production increases,

so that they can consume more of the goods produced both in their country and in ours, makes a substantial difference to us as a lending and investing nation. The hope for the private enterprise system lies in broadened markets—in more customers—right around the world. Underpaid workers don't make good customers.

Before the war Japan bought American cotton and American textile machinery at American prices and then exploited its workers so successfully that many Japanese products could undersell ours in world markets. Canada, on the other hand, used her imports of American goods to raise Canadian living standards. We helped to industrialize Canada and developed one of our most satisfactory customers. In 1940 we sold her 700 million dollars' worth of goods. If the per capita purchases of China and India had been on a comparable basis, our exports to those countries would have reached 45 billion dollars in 1940. The greater the industrialization in a foreign country, the bigger the market for American goods. (*Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1945)

Control the New Technology to Human Benefit

The third thing we can do is to control the new technology for human good. This means that scientists must also play their role in building the peace. On this point, Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America, says:

The vital role science can play in peace or war for the future calls for careful consideration of its potential influences upon the territorial, economic, social and political problems that nations seek to solve. If there is to be world security, the voice of science should be heard in the halls where the architects design our peace.

We have in our possession the secret of the atomic bomb. Other nations can in time learn how to make atom bombs, and Russian scientists are far advanced in their knowledge of atomic fission. Their country has reserves of uranium. Moreover, it is folly to regard the atom bomb as a political weapon. "No military power we can conceivably muster can keep us secure if we dissolve our alliances, if we provoke or permit the other great states to combine against us," Walter Lippmann cautions. "If we allow fools among us to brandish the atomic bomb with the idea that it is a political argument, we shall certainly end by convincing the rest of the world that their own safety and dignity compel them to unite against us."

Like the radio and the airplane, atomic energy is a great boon to all mankind, a material invention that can go far toward furthering world integration. If its use were placed under the control of an all-inclusive international authority and permitted only for the civilian services of peacetime, all humanity could share in its benefits. Such a proposal has been put forth by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It reads:

Every possible safeguard to protect man from the consequences of his own pride and greed is the urgent business of the churches. The danger of atomic war is too great and imminent to permit neglect of any means calculated to lessen or delay it. Therefore we need to study and support all feasible social controls of all destructive atomic power. No such controls by themselves can save mankind. But without the most adequate controls men can devise, the threat of atomic war would become overwhelming.

Atomic bombs and rockets in the separate hands of competing states would tend to precipitate total war, because of the mutual fears of annihilating aggression. Consequently the establishment of a single world control of destructive atomic power is an urgent necessity. Unless it can be achieved in the short period while the United States alone possesses atomic bombs, it may be difficult or impossible to achieve. We urge our government to state now its intention to place the new discovery under a world-wide authority as soon as all states will submit to effective controls. We also urge the government to press without delay for the creation of such controls.

10. What Can I Do?

1. Use as a motto Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.'s words that "every citizen in the world must accept personal responsibility for the success of the United Nations Organization and should dedicate himself to promoting in word and deed the task begun."

2. Seek to examine and to remedy our own shortcomings as a nation.

3. Continue making contributions to the American Society for Russian Relief which is aiding the Soviet people meet the staggering tasks of rehabilitation.



4. Promote public forums in your church and community on various phases of Russian-American relations. Use this and other material (see bibliography on page 37) as aids in discussion, and in your own thinking.

5. Write a letter to the readers' columns of your local newspaper deploring all irresponsible talk about "war with Russia in the next twenty years," "Uncle Sam again played for a sucker." Tell the readers of the paper that we must read all the day-by-day facts on Russian-American relations in the larger context of long-range policies and peaceful aspirations. Only reading of books and pamphlets such as those given in the bibliography can keep our perspective clear.

6. Learn as much as possible about the Communist party and its policy in America, not in order to approve but to obtain a true picture of the significance of the movement's philosophy and strength.

7. Join and cooperate with groups such as the League of Women Voters, the Legislative Committee of the Council for Social Action, the Union for Democratic Action and the East and West Association, which will keep you informed regularly on issues that affect Russian-American relations. These organizations will also help you to know the legislative proposals that are important, the moral and ethical issues involved in them, the points where pressure needs to be applied, and the foreign policy of candidates as indicated by their voting and speaking records. Only through membership in such organizations can the individual keep informed as to where his letters and telegrams are needed. Only in union with those of common purposes is there political strength.

8. Be sure that you, the members of your family, and your friends write letters to your senators and your congressman expressing your viewpoint on the crucial bills affecting foreign trade, relief, America's role in the United Nations and the other specific matters that together determine the foreign policy of the United States.

9. Listen to some of the radio programs on which foreign policy and other social issues are discussed by prominent people of different backgrounds: for example, Town Meeting of the Air and the University of Chicago Round Table.

Good Reading*

Paul B. Anderson, *People, Church and State in Modern Russia*, New York, Macmillan Co., 1944.

William H. Chamberlin, *Russian Enigma; an Interpretation*, New York, Scribners, 1943.

D. J. Dallin, *Russia and Postwar Europe*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943.

William T. R. Fox, *The Super-Powers*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1944.

Aron Jugov, *Russia's Economic Front for War and Peace*, New York, Harper, 1942.

Owen Lattimore, *Solution in Asia*, Boston, Little Brown and Co., 1945.

Richard E. Lauterbach, *These Are the Russians*, New York, Harper, 1945.

J. T. MacCurdy, *Germany, Russia, and the Future*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1945.

E. C. Roper, *Doing Business with Russia*, U.S. Department of Commerce, International Reference Service, 1945.

Edgar Snow, *The Pattern of Soviet Power*, New York, Random House, 1945.

G. R. Treviranus, *Revolutions in Russia*, New York, Harper, 1944.

Beatrice and Sidney Webb, *Soviet Communism; a New Civilization*, New York, Longmans, 1941.

*EDITORS' NOTE: It is difficult, if not impossible, for writers to be purely "objective" in their interpretations of Soviet Russia. The following material is recommended as being worth reading, including a diversity of viewpoints concerning the significance of Russia achievements and the future of Russian-American relations.

CORRECTION

The subhead "Religious Groups," which was to precede the listing of the American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and other church organizations as opponents of peacetime compulsory military training, was inadvertently omitted by the printers on page 31 of the September *Social Action*.

Books for Social Action

CHRISTIANITY WHERE YOU LIVE. By Kenneth Underwood. New York: Friendship Press, 1945. Pp. 182. Paper, 60c.; cloth, \$1.

"The real secret of the influence of the churches is in the practice of Christianity where you live," says Kenneth Underwood in the preface to this volume. The statement represents the conclusion drawn by him from observation of more than a score of Christianity's contemporary pioneers in America. In a search for the "growing edges" of a religion too often dormant, Mr. Underwood travelled thousands of miles and looked at hundreds of religious programs. He saw "tumbleweed" preachers and tumble-down churches, bishops and cathedrals, terrible need and dull complacency. He also found the thing for which he was searching: imagination fired by Christian faith and incorporated into new experiments in Christian living.

A few of the examples described by Mr. Underwood are well known, but most of them will come as fresh and absorbing stories to most readers. As one of the current selections of the Missionary Education Movement, the book is assured a vast audience, and it will undoubtedly wield a very significant influence in inspiring people to put their religion to work in their own neighborhoods. It is written in the vivid and easy style of a good journalist, but emerges from a thorough theoretical background brought to interpretation of concrete material. High school students and doctors of divinity will read it alike with pleasure and enheartenment.

L. P.

WE SHALL REBUILD, by George MacLeod. With a foreword by John Oliver Nelson. 140 pp. Philadelphia: Kirkridge Press. 60 cents.

This is the American edition of the story of Iona Community in Scotland, told by its initiator. Iona is a new and promising experiment in social evangelism with profound suggestions for enriching the liturgical life of American churches. Anyone making a religious and realistic approach to industrial workers should be heard gratefully in America.

K. U.

Social Scene

The central ideological problem of our day lies between the One and the Many. This is the spiritual struggle of our time, expressed often as the conflict between individualism and socialism. That the trend is toward social action and control is both inevitable and desirable.

The evidences of this conflict prevail on every continent. Russia and China have settled the issue amicably. All Western Europe is involved in a like struggle. England has clearly turned toward more adequate social control. America does not escape this spiritual dilemma, as we move from a pioneer period of individualism into a more political and social one.

The tension between individual and society is not insoluble. If we conceive the Cross as the most complete symbol of man, we see it resolved there. The upright is man's individuality asserting itself. The cross-arms are man's sociality, for arms are the outreach with which man clasps his brother's hand. These two-directional forces are resolved in the Son of Man upon the Cross. And we shall find like resolution for our society in our time as we apprehend the truth in St. Paul's aphorism:

"He is our peace who hath made both one, that he might reconcile both in one body unto God on the Cross."

Alfred W. Swan

THE BIG POSSIBILITY (Continued from back cover)

to inform the mind. Both education and religion are now met with a challenge greater than that they have ever before faced. That challenge is the dilemma of democracy—namely, how to get full production, preserve the fundamental freedoms, and then go on to point that production and those freedoms toward objectives which are worthy of man's spirit.

In all this there can be no compulsion except that which comes from the earnest search of man's spirit to discover the divine purpose of the universe. Abundance is good but by itself is not enough. Peace is good but not enough. The rights of man are good but not enough. It is not even enough when the whole world is blessed with abundance, peace and the fundamental freedoms. As a matter of fact, the world in unity cannot attain to abundance, peace and freedom without recognizing one thing more. And that one thing is both very simple and very difficult—it is the fatherhood of God and the fundamental decency of man.

The Big Possibility

By HENRY A. WALLACE

Secretary Wallace has become an outstanding exponent for American-Russian friendship. In accepting The Churchman's Award for 1944, he said to 2,500 religious leaders assembled in New York, June 4, 1945:

The enemies of peace . . . are those who are deliberately trying to stir up trouble between the United States and Russia. They know that the United States and Russia are the two most powerful nations in the world, and that without both of them in the world organization permanent peace is impossible.

Before the blood of our boys is dry on the field of battle these enemies of peace try to lay the foundation for World War III. They proclaim that because the ideologies of the United States and Russia are different, war between the two is inevitable. They seize upon every minor discord to fan the flames of hatred.

These people must not succeed in their foul enterprise. We must offset their poison by following the policies of Roosevelt in cultivating the friendship of Russia in peace as well as in war. I know this is the policy of President Truman. I am also satisfied that it is the policy of the vast bulk of the American people.

President Roosevelt had the rare gift of closing his eyes to the little discords while at the same time he focused his attention on the big possibility—namely, permanent peace through world organization. President Truman is following the Roosevelt policy to the letter. He is keeping his eye on the main chance for world peace.

And so I say that while Roosevelt is gone, his spirit still lives. And as long as he lives in the hearts of his countrymen there will be peace with Russia and such an accord between those two great nations that we will preserve the peace of the world.

Russia, in the eyes of many of the so-called backward peoples of the world, is the symbol of economic democracy based on universal education and jobs for everybody. The United States is the great world leader of political democracy based on freedom of religion, freedom of information, freedom of expression and the right of small nations to separate existence. The safety of the United States and the peace of the world depend on her ability to go all out in the post-war period for full production and full employment. . . .

It is the function of religion to change the heart and of education

(Continued on inside back cover)